

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and
the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil
takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the düyat and has
washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by
the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents,
who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a
matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are
also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no
real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing,
the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion
beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in
later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict
hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though
as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father,
they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually
they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
● 562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and
their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal
qualities.

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men
756 as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the
[562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman,
[753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re-
[623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick-
[683] ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For
this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and
broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake
anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all
evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always
very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo
have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse
the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans,
756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent
562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since
they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female
shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any
time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and
hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible.

756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a
teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, there-
fore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described.

In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never
show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in
[124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance
were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to
let us take part in their séances.

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157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
 333 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
 673 their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men.
 Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their
 distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while
 the right hand is busy at the wool.

883 The Paex maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
 157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
 481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms
 entwined about one another's necks; then they began running
 up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became
 exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their
 movements showed that they were playing and joking all the
 time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
 [515] except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
 142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
 [609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to
 keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
 315 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth
 of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
 562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on
 the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to
 entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same
 interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which
 was very different from what I observed among the Central
 American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
 186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless
 induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything
 nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only
 articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
 [563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even un-
 willing that the only white family living there should share the
 practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the
 near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

verb 'to be,' following what may be a noun or another adjective, and may be regarded as a predicate adjective or denominative verb: 193

ampa-kut, lean, sad.

diti-kut, pretty (Cast.).

diti-kut, pretty (Pitt.).

dsuns-kut, frail, slender.

its-kut, lean.

idla-kut, small.

nu-kut, small, low, of a river.

o-kut, plane, even.

pats-kut, ugly.

pets-kut, thin, like paper.

udts-kut, lazy.

[192]

It should not be inferred from the scarcity of this class of words in the examples given that the Paez language is lacking in them. On the contrary, a few examples show that, like many other primitive idioms, the Paez distinguishes gradations and categories in the qualities he attributes to an object or to different objects or persons. Thus, Castillo gives four different words for 'thick,' all of which, and one more, are still in use to-day. Now it is found that every one of them has a distinct signification or is applied in distinct cases:

fitse, thick, viscous, semi-liquid (of soup, mud, etc.).

xot, thick (of a tree).

nit, thick, stout (of a person).

iot, thick, bulky.

lat-a, thick or dense (of a forest, a jungle).

[192]

In the same way we have four expressions for 'large' three for 'soft,' etc., but without data to exemplify their use.

Reduplication is frequent in adjectives and seems to correspond to a superlative gradation.

The adjectives for 'young' and 'old' differ according to the sex of the person to whom they apply. The first is translated by *taki* when it applies to males, as in *pits-taki*, 'young man,' and by *kuc-nas* when applied to females. 'Old' is *inš*, or *tré* when referring to males, and *pənš* (or *e-pənš*) when used for females. [562]

Formation of Verbs. — Owing to the brevity of my stay among the Paez Indians, I felt from the first a certain reluctance to enter into the intricate study of the verbs, fearing that, should 114

/248 cont./

776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

[717] The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

* 756 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state; 562 there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence women do not learn medicine.

* 756 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food. 834 They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have 262 in other cultures.

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[796]
[533] The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249]/322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far
away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor
and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also dis-
tribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go
to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly
the té eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encum-
brance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense re-
mains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments
on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or
another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various
plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés
and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés
go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying
in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and
cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings
are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school,
with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating
of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions.
These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there
for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to
read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The chil-
dren of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and
many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are
interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count,
and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment
for their tasks of apprenticeship.

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[B. A. R. Bula. 143]

881

heights of Custando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

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Education.—Today the Indians are educated principally by their parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light basketwork. The Páez are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

Marriage.¹¹—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the Páez, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

Death.—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

¹¹ I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

/184 cont./

0-00 stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the
55/ present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eight-
17/ eenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not trans-
[177] missible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and
[797]

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit.,
p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the
doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimila-
tion and integration into Páez culture must have been carried
out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature
595 existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical
177 chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez
797 appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence,
since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland
Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

594 The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with
the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when
both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The
● [562] husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always
under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the hus-
623 band. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has au-
736 thority over orphaned women, including that of having them
562 marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan
583 and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her step-
father. Being of age, an Avirameño asked for her in marriage,
but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her
back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters
of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad
of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her,
admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she
would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

/185 cont. /

- 623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
● 562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

593 The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had
abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the
flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband ex-
plained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of
any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos,
meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Like-
wise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from
this standard seem to be infrequent.

593 Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
623 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties.
According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man
has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the
cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes
and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times
arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point
of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as
occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically
quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judg-
ment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.